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Imperialist Intelligence and Foreign Policy

RECENTLY the U.S. *Saturday Evening Post* carried an article under a rather remarkable headline: "The CIA Is Getting Out of Hand". "Wrapped in its cloak of secrecy," the article reads, "the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency modestly hints it has overthrown foreign governments, admits that it violates international law. . . . The CIA, in short, is making foreign policy, and in so doing, is assuming the roles of the President and the Congress. It has taken on the character of an invisible government answering only to itself."

Such statements do not add anything fundamentally new to the assessment of the part imperialist intelligence plays in shaping and carrying out foreign policy. True, Allen Dulles, former CIA chief, in his book *The Craft of Intelligence*, published in 1963, while attaching great importance to intelligence as a means of U.S. foreign policy, flatly rejects the idea that intelligence "makes" policy. However, neither Dulles nor other apologists like him can minimise the growing importance in recent years of intelligence and subversion, which very often supersede the traditional methods of diplomacy, in the conduct of imperialist foreign policy.

Intelligence has always been connected with foreign policy. In the past, however, its activities in the sphere of international politics were usually intensified in connection with the direct preparation and waging of war, *while nowadays intelligence has become a permanent instrument of major policy. The strategic intelligence of the imperialist states today is not only ancillary and supplementary to all forms of diplomatic activity, but becomes relatively independent of it.*

This tendency is most marked in U.S. foreign policy. *Central Intelligence and National Security*, written by Harry Ransom, an American sociologist, deals with this subject. "In the use of diplomacy, military power, economic pressure, propaganda, and psychological warfare," he

writes, "... accurate intelligence is a key to success."¹ The well-informed West German publicist, J. Joesten, writes that the "activity of the U.S. intelligence service leaves its own particular imprint on the entire foreign policy of the United States . . . the CIA, its aims and methods, prevail over all other institutions, principles and traditions in Washington today".²

The imperialist Powers' extensive use of intelligence methods in international relations is due above all to the post-war change in the alignment of world forces in favour of peace, democracy and Socialism. As their efforts to conduct a "positions of strength" policy in regard to the Socialist and other peace-loving countries become increasingly hopeless, the imperialist Powers resort with increasing frequency to intelligence, espionage and subversion in the hope of attaining what they have failed to achieve by means of diplomacy, the arms drive and military blackmail. In 1956, the U.S. military intelligence expert, T. Stanley, assigned this role to intelligence which he regarded as a most important element in the policy of strength.³

The main lines of activity undertaken by imperialist intelligence correspond to modern imperialism's principal strategic objectives.

First come intelligence and subversion against the Socialist countries. "The ruling circles of certain imperialist Powers," N. S. Khrushchov noted in his report to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., "have elevated subversive activities against the Socialist countries to the level of national policy."⁴

Second, there is intelligence and subversion against the young national states, the national-

¹ H. Ransom, *Central Intelligence and National Security*, Harvard University Press, 1958, p. 5.

² J. Joesten, *CIA—Wie der amerikanische Geheimdienst arbeitet*, München, 1958, S. 21.

³ See T. Stanley, *American Defense and National Security*, Washington, 1956, p. 3.

⁴ *The Road to Communism. Documents of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.*, Moscow, 1961, p. 22.

liberation struggle and the Communist and working-class movement. The aim is to weaken and disrupt the national-liberation movement and the Communist and working-class movement in the capitalist countries, to compromise their aims and tasks and to assassinate leaders and active supporters of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Third, intelligence and subversion is conducted by imperialist states against each other in their continuous struggle for the redivision of spheres of influence and for strategic positions. Official circles in the West usually keep silent about this aspect of imperialist intelligence, but numerous facts indicate that the intelligence service is employed in the bitter inter-imperialist struggle for oil in the Middle East, for influence in Africa, etc. It will be recalled, for instance, that some time ago Enrico Mattei, head of the Italian state oil company E.N.I., and Emile Bustani, Lebanese oil businessman, who had both challenged the U.S. monopoly oil interests, lost their lives in air accidents in very suspicious circumstances.

Organisation and Activity of Imperialist Intelligence

NOW that the imperialists are struggling against the Socialist world system, the young national states and the world Communist and the working-class movement, the activities of their intelligence services assume global dimensions. In the first place, the imperialist Powers try to combine their efforts. Combined intelligence agencies and centres are being set up to co-ordinate intelligence operations under NATO, SEATO, CENTO and the Organisation of American States and by bilateral agreement.

NATO, for instance, has the European Intelligence Communications Co-ordinating Committee for co-ordinating subversion against the Warsaw Treaty countries and organising the exchange of information obtained by national intelligence agencies. SEATO also has a security committee for drawing up and agreeing plans for espionage, plots and other acts directed against the national-liberation movement in South-East Asia.

Naturally, these combined agencies are dominated by the U.S. intelligence service which has the final say on the general direction of imperialist intelligence. It uses the intelligence agencies of small countries for its own ends; at times these agencies engage in activities incompatible with the interests of their own Governments.

The U.S. intelligence service also employs the intelligence agencies of the puppet regimes in South Viet-Nam, Taiwan and South Korea to camouflage its own aggressive plans.

The *Saturday Evening Post* wrote quite recently about a back-stage deal by which the CIA transferred some \$3,000,000 annually to Ngo Dinh Diem's special corps which plundered Buddhist pagodas in Saigon. "The CIA payments were made even though the U.S. Government publicly deplored the raids... which helped bring about the downfall of the Diem regime," the magazine wrote.

In recent years, imperialist intelligence has become total. In the first place information collected by means of espionage is comprehensive. Professor Sherman Kent, a prominent theorist and one of the chiefs of the American intelligence service, believes that U.S. ruling circles should have "total knowledge" about the Socialist countries, ranging from their physical geography to the state of their arts, science and technology. Special attention naturally is paid however to information about their military potential.⁵

Owing to its increased importance, intelligence is now directed at top government level. The American secret agent, G. Pettee, in his book, *Future of American Secret Intelligence*, states quite plainly that intelligence work should be regarded as a function of government. Nowadays the presidents and prime ministers of the imperialist countries have assumed control over their central intelligence agencies. "Today," writes J. Joesten, "one can say about American Government leaders with complete confidence that intelligence and secret diplomacy have become part of their flesh and blood."⁶

In the United States, the President's position as head of the intelligence service was legally fixed by the 1947 National Security Act. Under this act the National Security Council headed by the President and the subordinate Central Intelligence Agency were set up. Thus, the head of the American state and Government is the final instance in the U.S. intelligence network. This trend was further developed under Kennedy on whose personal initiative a series of measures were taken to reorganise and strengthen the U.S. intelligence service.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the chief of the central intelligence organisation, Gehlen, is directly responsible to the Chancellor.

⁵ Sherman Kent, *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy*, Princeton, 1953, pp. 32-37.

⁶ J. Joesten, *op. cit.*, S. 19.

In France, intelligence is under President de Gaulle's personal control. In Britain, the subordination of the intelligence service to the Prime Minister is a firmly established tradition.

The tasks assigned to the intelligence service and the nature of its activities have defined the kind of organisation it has. In the imperialist states the national intelligence agencies handle the most important intelligence and subversion assignments. In the U.S.A., this is done by the Central Intelligence Agency; in Britain—by the Secret Intelligence Service; in West Germany—by the Federal Intelligence Service (BND); in France—by the Foreign Documentation and Counter-Espionage Service (SDECE).

In the imperialist states, however, intelligence operations are now also assigned to other departments concerned with the conduct of foreign policy, such as diplomatic, military, economic and propaganda bodies. Many of them have so-called "departmental intelligence organs" vested with a constantly increasing range of functions.

According to U.S. experts, for instance, there are now 22 establishments in the U.S.A. engaged in intelligence activities. J. McCamy, an expert on U.S. foreign policy, believes that all U.S. government institutions, directly or indirectly connected with foreign policy, participate or should participate in intelligence operations. He lists several dozen bodies of this kind.⁷

The imperialist states' armed forces have the most numerous and active intelligence agencies. In the post-war period the range of their activities has been considerably extended.

Intelligence agencies attached to foreign ministries are another important link in the imperialist intelligence system. For instance, after the war an intelligence organisation was set up under the U.S. State Department; it is now headed by an Assistant Secretary of State and consists of eight divisions which are active all over the world. H. Ransom concludes that "by its very nature and function, the Department of State has always been inextricably entwined in the business of foreign intelligence".⁸ There are also special foreign intelligence subdivisions in the British Foreign Office.

In the United States, apart from the military and diplomatic departments, intelligence activities are also carried on by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's secret service, the National

Aeronautics and Space Administration and some other establishments, closely connected with war preparations.

The national intelligence agencies are supplemented by a wide network of non-governmental organisations which actively engage in espionage and subversion. They include anti-Soviet émigré groups, anti-Communist international centres, charity organisations, such as the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, and many others. These organisations as a rule conceal their ties with the official intelligence agencies and prefer to act on their own. This has many advantages for the imperialist ruling circles. Although they employ these organisations for the dirtiest work, they deny all responsibility for their criminal activity and call it the "expression of the will" of certain sections of society or of émigré circles.

The network of intelligence agencies has become so vast and their activities so numerous that the imperialists have had to centralise the direction of their secret service and to co-ordinate its work.

To this end a Joint Intelligence Committee has been set up under the British Cabinet, while in the United States, co-ordination of intelligence activities has been entrusted to the CIA and the U.S. Intelligence Board, headed by CIA chief McCone and made up of representatives of other establishments, engaged in intelligence: the Defence Department, the State Department, F.B.I. and the Atomic Energy Commission. In addition, special bodies have been set up to co-ordinate military intelligence agencies: in the U.S.A.—the Intelligence Agency of the Defence Department; in Britain—the Joint Intelligence Bureau of the Defence Ministry.

These co-ordinating bodies were to a certain extent necessitated by interdepartmental friction, competition and overlapping. The CIA and the Intelligence Agency of the Defence Department are constantly at daggers drawn. When considering just one report, these two intelligence bodies disagreed on thirteen questions, which had then to be discussed by the CIA Director, John A. McCone, and former Under-Secretary of Defence Gilpatric.

Intelligence and the Shaping of Foreign Policy

POLITICAL leaders and intelligence chiefs in the West usually try to conceal the fact that the intelligence service has a direct share in the shaping of foreign policy and that its influence

⁷ J. McCamy, *The Administration of American Foreign Affairs*, N. Y., 1950, p. 285.

⁸ H. Ransom, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

is often decisive. Allen Dulles, for instance, always tries to present the intelligence service as an impartial gatherer of information to be passed on to top political leaders, i.e., the "policy-makers", for their assessment. Everybody knows, however, that the CIA and Allen Dulles personally have initiated a whole number of dangerous gambles in international politics.

In their book, *A Study of a Master Spy (Allen Dulles)*, the British researchers, B. Edwards and K. Dunne, mention as examples of actions undertaken under CIA pressure the aggressive war in Korea (1950), the overthrow of the Mus-sadiq Government in Iran (1953), the overthrow of the Arbenz Government in Guatemala (1954), and the U.S. armed intervention in the Lebanon (1958).⁹ Discussing the post-war history of international espionage, in his book *The Secret War*, S. de Gramont concludes that the CIA "has had a finger in every major upheaval of the last ten years" and that it "has become as direct a policymaker as the State Department".¹⁰ A similar conclusion is drawn by the British intelligence expert, R. Seth, who emphasises the CIA's direct participation in shaping U.S. foreign policy.¹¹

How does the secret service take part in deciding foreign policy? In the first place, intelligence agencies collect comprehensive information and submit it to the imperialist governments which then decide on the measures to be taken in all spheres of their foreign policy.

The collection of information needed for deciding on major policy is called strategic intelligence in the West. In his book, Sherman Kent writes that "... strategic intelligence, we might call the knowledge upon which our nation's foreign relations, in war and peace, must rest".¹²

Besides, intelligence is exceptionally important in war preparations by the imperialist Powers. Information is obtained about whether it is possible to wage war against probable enemies and to help decide the timing of a war and plans for military operations. "Today American bombing planes patrol the skies day and night, armed with hydrogen bombs capable of incinerating societies," writes Ransom. "Who is to give the word to these merchants of deterrence or destruction to attack or not to attack in a given

situation? Intelligence plays a key role here."¹³

Intelligence also provides the ruling circles of the imperialist states with information about the economic potential of other countries, their foreign trade and foreign exchange operations, and the industrial secrets of competing monopolies. The British military theorist, Kingston McCloughry, for instance, notes that much of the information collected by the secret service is of great interest to businessmen.¹⁴

In the ideological struggle the secret service has to select and study social groups as possible targets for ideological subversion, to choose the most effective propaganda methods for each one, to gather tendentious material, spread false information and lies and to ascertain the efficacy of "psychological warfare" actions.¹⁵

Intelligence information is studied by foreign policy propaganda bodies, anti-Communist organisations and special "psychological warfare" research centres in working out "strategic psychological operations" against the Socialist countries and the national-liberation and international working-class movements.

Thus, when "total" espionage is engaged in, intelligence becomes the biggest "monopolist" of political, economic, military and other information, predominantly of a secret nature, which is of great interest to the ruling circles of the imperialist Powers. The analysis and collation of information is vitally important in adopting political decisions, particularly since intelligence agencies collect a lot of information which is not secret. Allen Dulles regards the analysis of all secret information and the subsequent making of various kinds of assessments as an extremely important and independent function of an intelligence agency without which, he believes, the latter's activities become ineffective. The purpose of analysis is to establish the trustworthiness of the collected data and to make political, economic and military prognoses.

The imperialist intelligence agencies have special centres for the analysis and collation of information at which prominent scientists and specialists are employed. Various research institutions also take part in this work.

The American secret service, including the CIA, has the biggest apparatus of this kind. The CIA is entrusted with the task of analysing, collating and assessing all information coming

⁹ B. Edwards, K. Dunne, *A Study of a Master Spy (Allen Dulles)*, London, 1961, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰ S. de Gramont, *The Secret War*, New York, 1962, pp. 29, 32.

¹¹ R. Seth, *Anatomy of Spying*, New York, 1963, p. 126.

¹² Sherman Kent, *op. cit.*, p. VIII.

¹³ H. Ransom, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁴ E. Kingston McCloughry, *Defence Policy and Strategy*, London, 1960.

¹⁵ See R. Holt and R. van de Velde, *Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy*, Chicago, 1960, p. 49.

from abroad. It then submits recommendations to the National Security Council and the President, which underly all important decisions in the field of international politics.

There is a growing tendency in the U.S.A. and other countries to transfer the function of assessing foreign policy information and making forecasts and proposals from the operation divisions of foreign ministries, and military and other departments to the intelligence service. As a result, the latter increasingly becomes a policy-making body.

Recommendations submitted by the intelligence service concern both current issues and long-term plans in international relations. "Each time," Truman writes in his memoirs, "the National Security Council is about to consider a certain policy—let us say a policy having to do with South-East Asia—it immediately calls upon the CIA to present an estimate of the effect such a policy is likely to have."

In the United States, the conclusions and recommendations of the secret service are given maximum attention. At the CIA there is the Office of National Estimates, headed by Sherman Kent. Its conclusions and recommendations approved by the U.S. Intelligence Board have indisputable authority and are referred to as "national estimates".

In making these estimates the secret service in fact heavily influences important government decisions in advance. In his memoirs Allen Dulles boasted that whenever the international situation deteriorated he was the first adviser to the President who took all important decisions after the intelligence service had made its estimates. Commentator Stewart Alsop, as if elaborating on this somewhat vaguely expressed idea, has written that the CIA was in the centre of all the serious international crises of the recent decade and in fact even caused some of them.

Naturally, imperialist intelligence estimates about the situation in different areas of the world, particularly in the Socialist countries, are in most cases tendentious. Even admirers of imperialist intelligence admit this. For instance, H. Ransom says that U.S. military circles leaned on the authority of the secret service in order to exaggerate the war danger from Moscow, because they wanted an increase in military expenditure, which, of course, was in the interest of the major military-industrial monopolies.¹⁶

Quite obviously such biased estimates led to

numerous setbacks for American foreign policy. A long, though incomplete, list of such flops is given in the book by B. Edwards and K. Dunne, who mention nine major failures suffered by U.S. intelligence service in the period between 1948 and 1960. They refer, in particular, to the incorrect assessment of the Chiang Kai-shekite forces in China in 1949 and the wrong appraisal of the situation in Latin American countries in 1957.¹⁷ Finally, the armed intervention in Cuba, which was undertaken on CIA initiative in 1961 and which ended in the complete rout of U.S. imperialism's mercenaries, was one of the most serious failures of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Intelligence and the Implementation of Foreign Policy

INTELLIGENCE also plays a very important direct part in the execution of imperialist foreign policy. By sabotage, terror, misinformation and subversive propaganda it strives to create a favourable situation for foreign policy actions planned by the imperialists.

Infiltration and the organisation of political sabotage units is a particular aspect of imperialist intelligence which Allen Dulles specially emphasises in his book *The Craft of Intelligence*.

F. Miksche, a Czech who has betrayed the interests of his country and is now an agent of the British intelligence service, has written a book, *Secret Forces*, approving of this type of activity. He believes an important task of intelligence is to establish contacts in foreign countries with a "certain category" of persons who because of their political beliefs or selfishness are ready to co-operate with intelligence. "A skilful political policy," Miksche writes, "will encourage them. Propaganda, subsidies, and the founding of political associations and parties can make these elements multiply."¹⁸

Imperialist intelligence has often acted through traitors to achieve its aggressive aims. For instance, after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia the imperialists actively used internal counter-revolutionary forces in an attempt to overthrow Soviet power. While preparing for the Second World War, Hitler Germany's secret service relied on traitors of the Quisling type. Naturally, in our days imperialist intelligence cannot find support in any social group in the Socialist countries, and it therefore counts on individual renegades and

¹⁶ See H. Ransom, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁷ B. Edwards, K. Dunne, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁸ F. Miksche, *Secret Forces*, London, 1950, p. 158.

morally corrupted or insufficiently vigilant people.

In order to undermine the economy and disorganise the machinery of government in the Socialist countries, the secret service of the imperialist Powers fabricates all kinds of documents and attempts to organise sabotage and disobedience to the authorities on the part of hostile elements, etc. For instance, in an endeavour to cause economic and political difficulties in the German Democratic Republic, imperialist intelligence resorted to so-called "administrative hindrances". It sent forged instructions, allegedly issued by official bodies, to the factories and banks in the G.D.R. to deliver manufactured goods, place additional orders, transfer money, and so on.

As a recent example we can refer to the rather unusual press conference organised by the CIA at which its spokesman alleged that the growth rates of the Soviet economy were extremely low and cast doubt on the Soviet Union's solvency. The idea behind this action was quite simple: to prevent the further development of East-West trade and particularly to discourage West European firms from taking Soviet orders for chemical industry equipment. John A. McCone's tour of West European countries in January-February had the same aim.

Imperialist intelligence very often resorts to misinformation and slander to weaken the international standing of the Socialist countries. It spreads various kinds of false information about the nature and purposes of Socialist foreign policy towards the young national states, accusing the Socialist countries of "exporting revolution", "subversive activities" and "communist penetration".

It organises various provocations in an attempt to depict disinterested Socialist aid to developing states as a menace to their sovereignty and national independence. For instance, in 1962, the anti-Communist "Freedom International" organised, not without the help of imperialist intelligence agencies, a series of provocative statements and pronouncements about the "threat of Russian-Soviet Communism" to young African states.

In order to strengthen capitalism's positions in the most important economic and strategic areas, imperialist intelligence employs other methods, including separatist revolts and plots, in its struggle against the newly independent states. On the pretext of granting independence, the imperialist Powers try to detach at least part of the emergent states' territory and place

them under their control. The British *Guardian* wrote, for instance, that the CIA had supported the separatist revolt against the Indonesian Government in 1958. The separatist actions in the Congo can serve as another example of this kind.

Imperialist intelligence helps fan anti-Communist hysteria intended to compromise the Socialist countries' foreign and home policy in the eyes of Western opinion. For instance, imperialist secret agents try to persuade citizens of the U.S.S.R. and the other Socialist states working or travelling abroad not to return home. Each of these extremely rare cases becomes the excuse for a slanderous campaign.

No effort is spared to play up existing ideological differences with a view to splitting the world Communist movement. On this point, the American secret agent using the pseudonym Christopher Felix, in his book, *A Short Course in the Secret War*, speaks of the need "... to recognise the dissension and then, by ingenuity and indirection, to nourish it".¹⁹ Intelligence agent W. Kintner and renegade of the working-class movement J. Kornfeder, authors of *The New Frontier of War*, urge taking every chance of breaking the unity of the Socialist camp.²⁰

The secret service of the imperialist Powers also engineers various provocations either to justify their aggressive actions or, at a moment suitable to them, to cause quite artificially a deterioration in the international situation. There have been quite a few cases in the course of history when intelligence has fabricated pretexts for imperialist armed aggression. Hitler Germany's intelligence service, for instance, organised provocations among the Sudeten Germans, thereby providing a pretext for aggression against Czechoslovakia. Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939 was preceded by an attack by Germans dressed in Polish military uniform on the German radio station in Gliwice. More recently the international situation was brought to tension point by the provocative flight of an American U-2 reconnaissance plane over Soviet territory on May 1, 1960, on the eve of the Summit Conference in Paris.

In violation of international law, imperialist intelligence often conceals its activities behind the respectable façade of establishments and organisations set up to maintain international contacts, including diplomatic missions. In the Penkovsky spy case, for example, ten U.S. and

¹⁹ Christopher Felix, *A Short Course in the Secret War*, N. Y., 1963, p. 170.

²⁰ W. Kintner, J. Kornfeder, *The New Frontier of War*, London, 1963, p. 328.

British embassy officials in Moscow were exposed as spies. In many cases it is even believed unnecessary to conceal that the Western diplomatic services are now closely involved in intelligence. For instance, according to A. Tully, a U.S. intelligence expert, "... In some embassies CIA personnel outnumbered Foreign Service employees."²¹

An official report published in 1955 by a U.S. commission investigating government administrative agencies, categorically demanded that the State Department display more boldness, perseverance and aggressiveness in its actions and exploit every possibility offered by the diplomatic service for the needs of intelligence. Diplomacy, the report underlined, was not an end in itself.²²

In carrying out espionage, subversion and psychological warfare in particular, imperialist intelligence frequently makes use of information agencies, travel firms, etc. In the U.S.A., for instance, a special information centre has been set up to organise subversive propaganda and espionage in the U.S.S.R. The CIA employs this centre and also tourist agencies to invite tourists, students, businessmen and other persons to fulfil special assignments.

In many countries, the American intelligence service and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) which co-operates closely with it spread

anti-Communist propaganda through newspapers and magazines, published by local agents. We can quote the example of *Panorama* magazine registered in Pakistan in the name of several local citizens, although it is in fact published by the USIA.

THUS, it may be seen that intelligence participates in the carrying out of foreign policy along with the diplomatic, military, propaganda and other agencies of the imperialist states, while its subversive activities supplement the other ways and means employed by the imperialists in international relations. In certain conditions, however, subversive activities come to the fore. There can be no doubt that it is quite a normal thing for intelligence agencies to help in establishing imperialist political domination in other countries. They organise plots and engineer *coups d'état* in order to overthrow governments disliked by the imperialists and replace them with puppet regimes.

The part intelligence takes in the formulation and implementation of imperialist foreign policy jeopardises universal peace and stands in the way of an international *détente*. World opinion has therefore to keep vigilant watch on the imperialist Powers' secret intrigues and oppose their intelligence agencies' attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Socialist and other peace-loving countries.

²¹ A. Tully, *CIA. The Inside Story*, N. Y., 1962, p. 259.

²² See H. Ransom, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-31, 126-127.